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DRAFTED BY: AF/C:TPMCCULLEY:TPM

APPROVED BY: AF:GEMOOSE

PRM:POAKLEY

AF/C:ARENDER

AF:EBRYNN

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INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS 0407-09

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RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 031012

PARIS FOR MORAN; BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PREF, EFIN, CG

SUBJECT: KAMANDA ON POLITICS, REFUGEES AND VOLCANOES

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

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2. SUMMARY: ZAIRIAN JUSTICE MINISTER KAMANDA WA KAMANDA, IN WASHINGTON FOR THE NATIONAL PRAYER BREAKFAST MET FEBRUARY 3 AT THE DEPARTMENT WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARIES MOOSE AND OAKLEY, PDAS BRYNN, AND AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER TO DISCUSS THE RECENT UNHCR-GOZ ACCORD ON SECURITY IN THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CAMPS AND TO REVIEW THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN KINSHASA. A/S OAKLEY EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE ACTIVE VOLCANOES NEAR THE GOMA REFUGEE CAMPS AND PROPOSED THE CREATION OF "RETURN CORRIDORS" TO RWANDA TO ENCOURAGE THE VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES. KAMANDA SAID THAT UNHCR OGATA WOULD TRAVEL TO KINSNESA ON FEBRUARY 9 TO DISCUSS IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT, AND THAT THE ZAIRIANS HAD ALREADY BEGUN THE SEARCH FOR APPROPRIATE SECURITY FORCES. THE GOZ PROPOSED TO OFFER "EXPERIENCED AND HIGHLY QUALIFIED" GENDARMES FOR THE 1,500 STRONG SECURITY FORCE. A/S MOOSE AND KAMANDA REVIEWED THE DELICATE SITUATION IN BURUNDI, AND DISCUSSED THE POLITICAL PARALYSIS IN KINSHASA AS A RESULT OF THE OBSTRUCTIVE

TACTICS OF MOBUTU'S ENTOURAGE AND THE RADICAL OPPOSITION. KAMANDA CONCLUDED THE MEETING WITH A REQUEST FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE TO CURB THE DISSEMINATION OF BOGUS GOZ BEARER BONDS PEDDLED BY A FORMER VICE MINISTER IN THE TSHISEKEDI GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY.

VOLCANOES AND ORPHANS

3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY OAKLEY EXPRESSED DEEP CONCERN
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ABOUT REPORTS THAT ACTIVE VOLCANOES NEAR THE RWANDAN REFUGEE CAMPS NORTH OF GOMA MIGHT ERUPT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. SHE SUGGESTED THAT MOVING REFUGEES AWAY FROM THE VOLCANO FURTHER INTO ZAIRE'S INTERIOR MIGHT PROLONG THE REFUGEE CRISIS, AND SUGGESTED THAT ORGANIZING "RETURN

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CORRIDORS," SUPPLIED WITH FOOD, WATER AND ASSISTED, MIGHT BE THE MOST APPROPRIATE METHOD TO ENCOURAGE VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION. KAMANDA REPLIED THAT THE GOZ HAD SET UP A WORKING GROUP, HEADED BY THE MINISTERS OF JUSTICE AND DEFENSE, TO STUDY THE PROBLEM. HE ADDED THAT A/S OAKLEY'S NOTION OF RETURN CORRIDORS HAD MERIT, BUT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT LACKED THE MEANS TO IMPLEMENT IT. AF/C DIRECTOR RENDER URGED KAMANDA TO CONSIDER RELOCATING ORPHANS AND OTHER UNACCOMPANIED CHILDREN LOCATED ON THE LAVA ROCK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO PROTECT THEM IN THE EVENT OF A VOLCANIC ERUPTION. KAMANDA SAID THAT HE TRAVELED NEXT TO NEW YORK FOR MEETINGS WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND HE PROMISED TO DISCUSS THESE IDEAS.

GENDARMES FOR THE PEOPLE

4. PDAS BRYNN TURNED THE DISCUSSION TO THE RECENT ACCORD SIGNED BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE AND THE UNHCR TO PROVIDE SECURITY IN THE REFUGEE CAMPS IN EASTERN ZAIRE. KAMANDA SAID THAT MADAME OGATA WOULD TRAVEL TO KINSHASA ON FEBRUARY 9 TO REVIEW THE DETAILS OF THE AGREEMENT, AND THAT IN GENERAL, THE ZAIRIANS WERE SATISFIED WITH ITS TERMS. HE EXPRESSED SOME FRUSTRATION, HOWEVER, THAT IT HAD TAKEN THE UN A LONG TIME TO ARRIVE AT AN ACCEPTABLE

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FRAMEWORK FOR THE SECURITY PROBLEM, AND NOTED THAT THE CURRENT PLAN WAS THE THIRD FORMULA PRESENTED BY THE UNSYG. HE ADDED LATER THAT COORDINATION BETWEEN THE UNHCR AND THE UNSYG SEEMED LESS THAN IDEAL AT TIMES.

5. THE ZAIRIAN GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY BEGUN TO RECRUIT

THE 1,500 SECURITY FORCES REQUIRED FOR THE OPERATION IN EASTERN ZAIRE. KAMANDA SAID THAT SINCE THE GENDARMERIE HAD THE MOST EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH CIVILIAN POPULATIONS, THE GOZ PLANNED TO SEEK "EXPERIENCED AND HIGHLY QUALIFIED" GENDARMES FOR INTEGRATION INTO THE FORCE. HE ADDED THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO MOVE QUICKLY, SINCE THE INITIAL SCOPE OF THE OPERATION WAS FOR ONLY FIVE

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MONTHS. KAMANDA SAID THAT THE UNHCR ESTIMATES THE NEED FOR 13 MILLION DOLLARS TO COVER THE INITIAL PHASE OF THE OPERATION, WITH A FIVE MILLION DOLLAR REQUIREMENT RIGHT AWAY. HE CONCLUDED THAT THE UNHCR PROPOSAL WAS NOT THE IDEAL SOLUTION, BUT THAT IT RESPONDED TO A CERTAIN NEED.

THE REFUGEE CONFERENCE

6. KAMANDA SAID THAT SECURITY IN THE CAMPS WOULD FEATURE PROMINENTLY AT THE UPCOMING REFUGEE CONFERENCE IN BURUNDI, AND THAT THE GOZ SUPPORTED A "GLOBAL APPROACH" TO THE PROBLEM. A/S OAKLEY NOTED THAT THE U.S. WISHED THE BURUNDI CONFERENCE TO BE AS "FOCUSED, PRACTICAL, DETAILED AND PRAGMATIC" AS POSSIBLE. SHE SAID THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO AVOID AT ALL COST A REPEAT OF THE RWANDA

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CATASTROPHE IN BURUNDI, AND THAT THE PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BEGIN TO FOCUS ON IMPROVING CONDITIONS INSIDE RWANDA SO THAT REFUGEES COULD RETURN. OAKLEY ADDED THAT PERHAPS THE VOLCANO SITUATION OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY -- USED CORRECTLY -- TO ENCOURAGE THE VOLUNTARY REPATRIATION OF RWANDAN REFUGEES.

BURUNDIAN REFUGEES: WOMEN, CHILDREN AND EXTREMISTS

7. KAMANDA AGREED ON THE NEED TO MASTER THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI TO AVOID A CRISIS, AND SAID ZAIRE WAS ANXIOUS THAT BURUNDIAN REFUGEES RETURN HOME. HE CLAIMED THAT 500,000 BURUNDIANS HAD SOUGHT REFUGE IN ZAIRE, MOST OF THEM WOMEN AND CHILDREN (COMMENT: THIS SEEMS HIGH, AND MOST ESTIMATES PLACE THE NUMBER AROUND 125,000). KAMANDA SAID THAT THE MEN HAD REMAINED BEHIND IN BURUNDI "TO FIGHT IT OUT FROM THE INTERIOR." AS A MEASURE OF THE PRECARIOUSNESS OF THE PEACE IN BURUNDI, KAMANDA SAID THAT "MOST OF THE GOVERNMENT" STILL STAYS IN THE NIGHT IN THE ZAIRIAN BORDER TOWN OF UVIRA (COMMENT: THIS MAY OVERSTATE THE SITUATION, BUT IT IS CERTAIN THAT SOME GOVERNMENT

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MINISTERS AND MANY PARLIAMENTARIANS (UNCLASSIFIED) FOR

THE RELATIVE CALM OF ZAIRE EACH NIGHT).

8. AS FOR THE BURUNDI EXTREMISTS, KAMANDA ADMITTED THAT SOME, NOTABLY FORMER INTERIOR MINISTER NYANGOMA, OPERATED FROM ZAIRE, BUT CHARGED THAT KENYA HARBORED MOST OF THEM. KAMANDA HAD MET RECENTLY WITH HIS BURUNDIAN COUNTERPART TO
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DISCUSS THE REGIONAL CRISIS, AND HE VOICED UNDERSTANDING FOR THE FRUSTRATIONS OF "THOSE WHO HAD WON AN ELECTION" IN THE FACE OF DEMANDS BY THE LOSERS TO RENOUNCE THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS. ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE AGREED THAT THE SITUATION IN BURUNDI WAS EXTREMELY DELICATE AND SAID THE U.S. WAS TRYING TO ENCOURAGE STABILITY. THE UPCOMING REFUGEE CONFERENCE, HE ADDED, CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THIS PROCESS.

ZAIRE: MOBUTU'S MACHINATIONS

9. A/S MOOSE OPENED THE DISCUSSION OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ZAIRE WITH A MENTION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL PARALYSIS WITHIN PARLIAMENT. KAMANDA HASTENED TO REPLY THAT THE BLOCKAGE DID NOT COME FROM THE KENGO GOVERNMENT. HE OUTLINED THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTEMPT TO REDRESS THE CATASTROPHIC SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY, INCLUDING EFFORTS TO END THE "CRIMINALIZATION" OF THE ECONOMY. KENGO AND HIS MINISTERS, KAMANDA SAID, HAD REMAINED "FAITHFUL TO ITS PROGRAM," BUT THE TRANSITION PARLIAMENT (HCR-PT) HAD FAILED TO FOLLOW. THE OBSTRUCTIVE TACTICS OF A HARDCORE OF THE TSHISEKEDI-LED OPPOSITION, WITH THE COMPLICITY OF A FACTION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL PARTY LED BY MOBUTU CRONY BEMBA SAOLONA, HAD PREVENTED THE HCR-PT FROM MOVING FORWARD ON BASIC LEGISLATION.

10. THE GOVERNMENT'S BUDGET AND DRAFT LAWS ON THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION AND THE ELECTORAL CODE HAD YET TO CLEAR PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES DUE TO THE "STERILE AND
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SYSTEMATIC OBSTRUCTION" OF A MINORITY. KAMANDA SAID THAT
KENGO COULD MOVE HIS BUDGET FORWARD VIA THE HCR-PT'S
EXECUTIVE BUREAU, BUT THAT THE DRAFT ELECTION LAWS
REQUIRED A VOTE IN A PLENARY SESSION OF PARLIAMENT. ON A
POSITIVE NOTE, KAMANDA REPORTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS
"LIVING WITHIN ITS MEANS," AND THAT HYPERINFLATION HAD
BEEN STEMMED (HE SAID THAT THE RATE OF NEW ZAIRES TO THE
DOLLAR HAD ACTUALLY DECLINED).

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THE INFERNAL CIRCLE

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11. A/S MOOSE SAID THAT MOBUTU'S INNER CIRCLE WAS MENACED
BY THE KENGO GOVERNMENT'S ACTIONS, AND HE ASKED KAMANDA
WHAT THE GOVERNMENT OR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY COULD
DO. KAMANDA REPLIED THAT MOBUTU AND HIS ENTOURAGE HAD ALL
BEEN IMPLICATED IN THE ILLEGAL CURRENCY SCAM, BUT THE
GOVERNMENT COULD NOT VERY WELL PUT THEM ALL IN PRISON.
CONTINUING, KAMANDA SAID THAT AN ARREST OF THE FORMER
GOVERNOR OF THE CENTRAL BANK WOULD LEAD TO THE FORMER
MINISTER OF FINANCE WHICH WOULD LEAD TO THE GENERALS WHICH
WOULD LEAD TO THE CHIEF OF STATE. AT THIS POINT, HE SAID,
MOBUTU WOULD ACCUSE THE GOVERNMENT OF VIOLATING THE SPIRIT
OF THE CONSTITUTION (NON-CONFLICTUALITY). KAMANDA SAID
KENGO WAS PROCEEDING METHODICALLY, AND THE GOVERNMENT DID
NOT WANT TO AUGMENT THE CRISIS.

12. A/S MOOSE OFFERED THE EXAMPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AS A
POSSIBLE WAY TO DEAL WITH THE CRIMINALITY OF MOBUTU AND
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HIS ENTOURAGE. MOOSE SUGGESTED THAT A FRANK DISCUSSION OF PAST TRANSGRESSIONS AND AN AGREEMENT TO MOVE FORWARD UNDER A NEW SET OF RULES MIGHT BE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN A WIDE-RANGING INQUIRY WHICH IMPLICATED MOBUTU AND HIS INNER CIRCLE. KAMANDA MUSED ABOUT WHETHER "TURNING A NEW PAGE" WOULD HALT THE CRIMINALIZATION OF THE ECONOMY, BUT HE AGREED TO DISCUSS THE NOTION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER.

THE ROLE OF TSHISEKEDI

13. DISCUSSING HIS "FORMER COLLEAGUES" IN THE HOLY UNION, KAMANDA SAID THAT "THESE PEOPLE ARE NOT STUPID." HE SUGGESTED THAT TSHISEKEDI AND HIS FOLLOWERS HAD EXAMINED THE SORRY STATE OF ZAIRE'S ECONOMY, HAD CONCLUDED THAT THEY HAD NO MEANS -- AND NO PROGRAM -- TO REDRESS THE SITUATION, AND HAD DECIDED TO AVOID THE "TRAP" OF GOVERNING (AND THUS AVOID THE BLAME FOR A FAILURE TO RESOLVE ZAIRE'S PROBLEMS). IN KAMANDA'S OPINION, THE UDPS HAD DECIDED TO BLOCK LEGISLATION DISCREDIT THE GOVERNMENT, AND MOVE TO AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN WHICH WOULD CASTIGATE KENGO FOR THE FAILURE OF HIS PROGRAM. KAMANDA CRITICIZED TSHISEKEDI FOR THE STERILITY OF THESE TACTICS, AND CALLED IT A FUTILE GAME. MOOSE ADDED THAT IT WAS ALSO A DANGEROUS GAME, AND THAT THE ONLY WINNER WAS PRESIDENT MOBUTU.

BAD BEARER BONDS

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14. CONCLUDING THE DISCUSSION, KAMANDA ASKED FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE TO HALT THE CIRCULATION OF BOGUS BEARER BONDS PURPORTEDLY BACKED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAIRE. KAMANDA SAID THAT TSHISEKEDI'S FORMER VICE MINISTER OF FINANCE CONTINUED TO SIGN AND PEDDLE SUCH FALSE INSTRUMENTS. HE ADDED THAT IT WAS IRONIC THAT THE KENGO GOVERNMENT HAD GONE TO GREAT LENGTHS TO HALT THE INFLUX OF ILLEGAL

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CURRENCY BY MOBUTU AND HIS ENTOURAGE UNCLASSIFIED
THAT THEIR PUTATIVE "ALLIES" IN THE OPPOSITION WERE
ENGAGED IN A SIMILAR ENDEAVOR.

CHRISTOPHER

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